Parenthood and Well-Being: The Mediation of Leisure Time

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Abstract. In this study the mediation effect of leisure time on the effects of parenthood on well-being for parents were examined. Cross-sectional data was drawn from the Brithish Household Panel Survey (BHPS). It is hypothesized that effects of parenthood on well-being for parents are mediated by leisure time, especially for women. Also the mediation effects of the age of children and the number of children were examined. It turned out that the effects were not mediated by leisure time. However, parenthood is negatively related with the amount and satisfaction of leisure time for both men and women and the number of children for men is negatively related with the amount of leisure time. Also, the amount of leisure time is positively related with physical wellbeing for women, whereas for men leisure time satisfaction is positively related with physical well-being.

Keywords. Parenthood, Well-Being, Leisure Time, BHPS, Age of Children, Number of Children, Gender.

Introduction

A life-changing event for both men and women is certainly the birth of their first child. Several emotional motives can be found for the actual choice to have children. For example, there is the notion that people think that giving birth to a child could enhance the relationship between the couple (Twenge, Campbell, & Foster, 2003). For women, the choice to have a child may be driven by the concept of the maternal role identity (Mercer, 2004). Rubin (1967) speaks of the process of maternal role attainment which serves for women as a way to accomplish maternal identity. With maternal identity, one could think of the qualities, traits, attitudes and achievements women themselves find desirable for the actual motherhood (Mercer, 2004). However, in reality having children often gives ambiguous effects. On the one hand they give pleasure and a sense of love, but on the other hand they require intimate care and can be difficult to raise.

Previous studies pointed out several positive and negative effects of the transition to parenthood. Important positive effects are highlighted by Nomaguchi & Milkie (2003). They argued that both social and psychological resources improve with the transition to parenthood. They explained the increase of social resources in terms of the enhancement of social networks as a result of becoming a parent. The mechanism they presented is that children provide the opportunity for parents to interact with the neighbors, because of the fact that children require much attention. Another explanation for the growing social resources is given by Kahn (1980). He explained the increase of social resources in terms of more social support, with as main argument that with the birth of a child social support such as 'parenting group support' and 'emotional marital support' arise. Increasing social resources can be seen as positive, because of the fact that especially this so-called 'neighborhood social capital' contributes to the construction of a better health (Mohnen, Groenewegen, Völker, & Flap, 2011). In addition to the improved social resources, there are improvements in psychological resources as well. Nomaguchi & Milkie (2003) argued that because of the fact that parents now take care of children they become better in caring for others which is important for psychological growth. So in other words, because of the fact that the couple now has children, they become more competent on the matter of taking care of others which is according to Nomaguchi & Milkie (2003) an "enrichment of the self".

However, it is not the case that children merely provide positive effects. On the other hand there are also the negative effects of the transition to parenthood. On this matter Nomaguchi & Milkie (2003) found that psychological well-being of parents is lower compared to the psychological well-being of non-parents. They supported this claim with the stress process model which suggests that it is not the parenting itself that enhances stress which reduces psychological well-being, but the overload of demands from child care and housework is the problem. Twenge, Campbell & Foster (2003) provided a four-pieced theoretic scheme concerning these negative effects. They spoke of four so-called models that construct this scheme, namely 'the role conflict model', 'the restriction of freedom model', 'the sexual dissatisfaction model' and the 'financial cost model'. In short, one can see the role conflict model as the emergences of social roles along traditional lines. For example, the woman will take care of the children and the household, while the father will be the breadwinner. They argued that in modern times most people do not want these traditional roles and therefore it can be seen as a negative effect of becoming a parent. The restriction of freedom model is quite straight forward. It consists basically of the notion that children diminish the freedom of individuals in marriage because they require a great deal of attention and care which can obviously be seen as negative. The sexual dissatisfaction model argues that it is more difficult to maintain a sexual relationship with children around the house, which can be seen as negative in terms of decreasing intimacy. And last, the financial cost model is quite straightforward as well. It relies on the argument that children are expensive which in turn can lead to financial stress.

The issues discussed in the previous paragraphs are merely examples of many more negative and positive effects. However, this article specifies on one phenomenon only, namely the effects of the transition to parenthood on the leisure time of the parents and the effect of this change in leisure time for the well-being of the parents. The reasons for this specification will be explained in the following paragraph.

Leisure Time

In this research, I focus on the effects of the concept of leisure time on well-being of parents. So far there is much research with regard to effects and consequences of the presence of children, but there is only little research on the relation between parenthood and the effect of changing leisure time. In the available research, it is frequently said that children require much attention and care which eventually leads to less time for joint leisure for the parents (Belsky, Spanier, & Rovine, 1983). But is this truly the case? In previous research it is also said that because of this call for attention parents, often the mother, take a step back from their professional career (Hynes & Clarkberg, 2005). One could argue that this step back creates time for the care of the child and the household and that therefore the amount of leisure time will not be influenced. Obviously, previous literature seems contradictive and therefore it is highly important to investigate the relation between leisure time and the transition to parenthood. It is therefore that the first research question of this article addresses whether effects of parenthood on well-being are mediated by leisure time. First, the direct relation between parenthood and the well-being of parents will be tested. This will be followed by the exploration of a mediation effect of leisure time. Initially, there will be looked at the relation between parenthood and the amount of leisure time of the parents. Then, the relation between changes in leisure time and well-being of parents will be investigated.

Differences in gender

Previous research does agree on the fact that parents do not experience the transition to parenthood in the same way. For example, many different scientists argue that men experience the transition in a different way than women do (Cleary & Mechanic, 1983); (McKeering & Pakenham, 2000); (Ono, 1998); (Sanchez & Thomson, 1997); (Scott & Alwin, 1989). For example, it is the case that there are no effects of parenthood on the amount of paid work and household labor done by the father, whereas becoming a mother increases the amount of household labor done by the mother and reduces the amount of paid labor done by the mother. This is a clear example of gender roles which affect the experience of becoming a parent and it makes clear that men and women do not experience the transition to parenthood in the same way. It is therefore that the second research question of this article addresses the effects of gender on the possible mediation effect of leisure time.

In addition to the differences caused by gender, there are also differences with regard to social economic status and birth cohort (Myrskylä & Margolis, 2014); (Twenge, Campbell & Foster, 2003). However, it is not likely that these features are of influence with regard to leisure time. People with a high socioeconomic status tend to have less leisure time than people with a lower social economic status, regardless of the presence of children. A demanding job, which people with a high socioeconomic status tend to have, is a better predictor variable for leisure time better the presence of children and not parenthood. Birth cohort is not very likely to predict leisure time either, because

Age of children

Another flaw in previous research regards the fact that almost every article is merely focused on the first year of parenthood. There is very little research about the effects of the changing age of the children, especially when focused on the concept of leisure time. Twenge, Campbell & Foster (2003) argue that younger children need more attention and care than older children, which for example could lead to less leisure time. It is therefore that the third research question addresses the examination of the influence of the age of children on the leisure time of parents.

Number of children

The fourth research question focuses on the number of children in households. As stated earlier, previous research does not frequently pays attention to leisure time and it is therefore that there is little attention for the effects of the number of children in households on leisure time and well-being either. This is of relevance for the same reason as the age of children. More children in a household require more attention, which eventually could lead to less leisure time.

Theory

The mediation of Leisure timePrevious research defines leisure time as the direct opposite of work, i.e. paid or unpaid work (Bittman & Wajcman, 2000). It is argued that the time not spent on paid work, unpaid work or self-care is the time people spend on leisure activities. However, it is not merely quantity that defines leisure time, there is also the qualitative aspect of the concept of satisfaction with leisure time (Francken & Raaij, 1981). They define satisfaction with leisure time as "the perceived discrepancy between the actual and the desired situation". When the actual situation is closer to the desired situation, people perceive more leisure satisfaction than when the actual situation is further away from the desired situation.

In the next sections a few issues will be addressed regarding parenthood, leisure time and well-being. The mediation effect of leisure time will become clear by theorizing the effects of parenthood, the age of children and the number of children on leisure time itself. This will be followed by looking into the effects of the expected changes in leisure time for parenthood, age of children, and number of children on the psychological well-being of the parents. These steps are presented below in conceptual Model1.

Model 1. Conceptual Model of the mediation of leisure time on the effects of parenthood on



Effects of the presence of children on leisure time

It is found by Claxton & Jenkins (2008) that both men and women experience a considerable decline in leisure activities with the transition to parenthood. According to them, it is the case that they initially undergo a certain decline, but when the mother goes back to work there occurs a gradual increase. However, this increase will never be so drastic that the leisure time will be on the same level as before the transition to parenthood. In the introduction I wondered whether it could be possible that a step back by the mother from her professional career could mean that the amount of leisure time of the mother would not be influenced at all. However, this study proves that regardless of the possible draw-back from the labor force by women, women both initially and eventually still have less leisure time when they become a mother. It is therefore that I expect that parenthood is negatively related with leisure time.

However, as stated earlier, previous research does agree on the matter that not everyone experiences the transition to parenthood in the same way. With regard to leisure time the experiences of becoming a parent greatly differs in gender. There are two main theories regarding this matter. First there is the theory of Becker (1985), namely the theory of specialization. Becker argues that there is an underlying gender equity in leisure. Second, there is the view that women are wearing a "dual burden" as both family providers and primary caretakers of the family. Within this view it is assumed that mothers have less leisure time than fathers because they simply add the time of taking care of the children to the time they already spend on paid and other unpaid work. Bittman & Wajcman (2000) examined both theories and came to the conclusion that both views are actually partially true. They showed that men and women on average do have similar quantities of free time, which indicates a certain equity in leisure time is often interrupted by unpaid work such as household labor and child care. As discussed earlier, it is still often the case that when a woman becomes a mother she is the primary caretaker. Therefore, she will have more intermitted leisure than before she became a mother.

An important part of this can be explained by the difference in leisure time parents spend with their children. Generally, it is the case that leisure time of fathers spend with their children is more playful in nature. This can be seen as a form of pure leisure that parents spent with their children. For women,

the leisure time with their children is not merely pure, which can be seen as prove of previous claims. It is argued that women tend to have a more caring character of leisure time with their children. This can be seen as a form of intermitted leisure, and not of pure leisure, because it entails a certain responsibility, whereas it seems that fathers just 'have fun' with their children. The consequences of this different experience of leisure time between mothers and fathers will be discussed in a later stage.

Effects of the age of children on leisure time

As discussed in the introduction, there is not much research into the effects of the growing up of children on leisure time and well-being of parents. However, there is very interesting and clear research about how the gender balance with regard to paid labor and the household changes as children grow. Craig & Sawrikar (2009) examined how this so-called work-family balance and the gender division of labor differed for parents with children in early childhood, middle childhood, and the early teen years. The main conclusion of this research was basically that balancing work and family is easier and more equal for both men and women when children grow up. They argued that because of this more balanced distribution of workload, women tend to experience a "less pressing domestic burden" and "less maternal stress". In this article mechanisms are presented which are crucial for the understanding of what this might mean for the effects of leisure time on parents when children grow older. First of all, it is explained that this transition to a more equal distribution is due to the fact that women are inclined to change their behavior when children grow older. It is women who change their commitments to work and family rather than men and not because parents decide together to divide the distribution more equal. This mechanism is crucial to understand what previously made claims could mean for the leisure time of in this case women when children grow older, because they also showed that women have a stronger urge to care than men. However, when children grow older, they require less attention. It is therefore that women will have a smaller workload because they are the primary caretakers and then they could fill up the time with whatever they choose. Assuming women are rational and self-interested, they would choose to fill this time with something that makes them happy, for example more pure leisure activities. It is therefore that I expect that when children grow older, parents, and in particular women, will encounter an increase leisure time.

Effects of the number of children on leisure time

For the effects of the number of children, the same argument can be used. It is likely that when the number of children in a household increases, the total workload will increase as well because of the additional care that occurs with having more children. The higher workload will come at the cost of leisure activities, especially for women. As theorized in the previous paragraph it is namely especially women who act as the primary caretaker and it is therefore that I hypothesize that the number of children is negatively associated with leisure time, especially for women.

Several previous studies have shown the profound effect of leisure time on the well-being of people (Claxton & Jenkins, 2008); (Della Fave & Massimini, 2004); (Johnson, Zabriskie & Hill, 2008). Each of these studies pointed out a positive effect of leisure time or the satisfaction of leisure time on wellbeing. For example, it is argued by Della Fave and Massimini (2004) that more engagement and involvement in leisure time of the parents is better for the family as a whole. Claxton & Jenkins (2008) supported this finding with a certain mechanism by illustrating the contribution of the satisfaction on mental health and well-being. In order to achieve a better marital relationship and therefore improve the family as a whole, it is crucial to have enough leisure time. It is namely leisure time, especially joint leisure time, that encourages marital relationships. Johnson, Zabriskie & Hill (2008) contributed to this matter by examining the relationship between leisure satisfaction and marital satisfaction as well. They defined leisure satisfaction as the amount of satisfaction a couple has with regard to their joint leisure time. It turned out that there was a significant positive relationship between this couple leisure satisfaction and marital satisfaction, i.e. more leisure satisfaction is more marital satisfaction. It is this marital satisfaction that leads to better mental health and better well-being. Next to the marital satisfaction, the amount of leisure time is also directly of influence in terms of the amount of parental stress (Roggman, Moe, Hart & Forthun, 1994). Because of this increase in family leisure parents perceive less parenting stress. This decrease in parenting stress leads in turn to better psychological well-being. Because of the fact that previous studies for the vast majority agree on this matter, I argue that it is safe to say that there is a positive effect of leisure time on the psychological well-being of parents.

In a previous section I have argued that it is the mother who has less pure leisure time and more intermitted leisure time than the father. Given the notion that the person with less leisure satisfaction has less marital satisfaction and more parental stress, I hypothesize that on average women have less well-being than men when they become a parent.

With regard to the age of children I hypothesized that when children grow older they require less care and therefore parents will report higher amounts of leisure time. The same mechanism as for the presence of children can be used on this matter, which entails the argument that an increase in leisure will lead to a decrease in parenting stress which eventually leads to more well-being. Graig & Sawrikar (2009) back up this claim by arguing that women encounter less stress when children become older and it is therefore that I hypothesize that for women, when children grow older, it is an increase in leisure time that causes the decrease in stress and in the so-called pressing domestic burden which eventually leads to better well-being. Because of the fact that it is women who change their behavior, and not men, I hypothesize that for men there will be no significant change in leisure time and psychological well-being when children grow older. With regard to the number of children I hypothesized that parents with more children will experience less leisure time than parents with a smaller number of children. This decrease in leisure time and a high number of children will lead to more parenting stress, because more children requires more attention. It is therefore that I hypothesize that people with more children have less well-being than people with fewer children.

Method

Data

The cross-sectional data used for the analysis are drawn from the British Household Panel Survey (BHPS). The BHPS consists of eighteen waves carried out annually from 1991 till 2009 and entails a representative sample of British households. In this research all data is obtained from the eighteenth wave of the survey, which is the most recent wave. A key advantage of the BHPS dataset for this research is the sample size, which is large with 14,419 respondents. Next to this large number of respondents, there is also the advantage of the wide range of variables, which is useful for analyzing the effects of parenthood on leisure time and well-being. This wide range of variables includes information regarding for example parenthood, leisure time, age, health and other demographic features.

In this research respondents between 18-years-old and 58-years-old are selected. Individuals between 18 and 40 are usually seen as fertile. Because of the fact that the hypotheses concern parents with children of the age between 3 and 18, it is necessary to add those eighteen years to the upper boundary of fertility of 40 years old. It could be possible that couples became parents at the age of 40, which means that when their children are eighteen-years-old, the parents themselves are 58. Besides selecting for these people, it is also necessary to exclude all respondents who have a missing value on one of the variables. After excluding all people who are older than 58 and all respondents with at least one missing value, the sample still has N=5,533 respondents. The final sample, has N=2,579 male respondents and N=2,954 female respondents.

Measures

Independent variables

All independent variables measure the overarching concept of the 'presence of children'. First of all, the variable 'parental status' (M=0.58, SD=0.490) is constructed, which presents whether the respondent actually has children or not. It is a dichotomous variable where a score of 0 means that the respondent does not have any children and a score of 1 means the respondent does have children.

The second concept of the presence of children is the 'age of the children'. The concept of the age of the children consists of three different independent variables, namely 'young childhood', 'middle

childhood' and 'adolescence'. The variable 'young childhood' (M=0.14, SE=0.34) consists of all parents with a youngest child that is four years old or younger. This includes parents who have a child in young childhood and at the same time children older than four as well. The variable 'middle childhood' (M=0.32, SE=0.47) consists of all parents with at least one child of 5-15 years old and no children of 0-4 years old. This includes parents who at the same time have children older than 15 as well. The variable 'adolescent' (M=0.04, SE=0.19) consists of all parents with at least one child of 16-18 years old and no younger children.

The third independent variable is the variable 'number of children' (M=0.71, SD=0.97). Respondents were asked how many children they had. The number of children in households varied from 0 to 8.

Mediation variables

Two variables have been created to measure the concept of leisure time, namely the variables 'amount of leisure time' (M=4.85, SD=3.29) and 'satisfaction with the amount of leisure time'(M=4.51, SD=1.39).

In order to construct the variable 'amount of leisure time' respondents were asked how many hours they spend on leisure time each month. The respondents were able to choose between thirteen different answer categories¹, which ranges from '0' is no leisure time and '12' is 160 hours or more of leisure time a month. These answer categories were adopted in order to create the variable amount of leisure time.

In order to construct a good image of 'satisfaction with leisure time' respondents were asked how satisfied they were with the amount of time they spent on their leisure time. The respondents were asked to illustrate their satisfaction with leisure time on a seven point Likert scale, where '1' means not satisfied at all and '7' means completely satisfied. This exact distribution was used in the variable 'satisfaction with leisure time'.

It could be possible that these two variables are more similar than desired. It is therefore that these variables are tested for the problem of multicollinearity, which is reported in the bivariate results.

Dependent variables

Two variables have been created in order to measure the concept of well-being for parents, namely 'physical well-being' (M=0.79, SD=0.41) and 'psychological well-being' (M=0.05, SD=0.22). In

¹ A score of '0' means no leisure time, a score of '1' means 'under ten hours a month', a score of '2' means 10-19 hours a month, a score of '3' means 20-29 hours a month, a score of '4' means 30-39 hours a month, a score of '5' means 40-49 hours a month, a score of '6' means 50-59 hours a month, a score of '7' means 60-79 hours a month, a score of '8' means 80-99 hours a month, a score of '9' means 100-119 hours a month, a score of '10' means 120-139 hours a month, a score of '11' means 140-159 hours a month and a score of '12' means 160 hours or more a month

order to create the variable 'physical well-being' respondents were asked for their health status over the last 12 months, where '1' means very poor and '5' means excellent. However, with these kind of questions it could be the case that respondents tend to give answers where they present themselves as healthy, whereas they are actually less healthy then they think they are. It is therefore of importance to look at the skewness of the distribution. The vast majority of the respondents, namely 4,385 out of 5,533, has a score of '4' or '5'. The distribution is therefore negatively skewed and it is necessary to create a dichotomous variable of 'physical well-being' with '0'= poor/fair physical well-being and '1' is good/excellent physical well-being.

Figure 1. Skewness of the distribution of 'physical well-being'.



In order to create the variable 'psychological well-being' respondents were asked if they experienced the mental health problems anxiety and depression. If they actually suffered from one of these issues they scored '1', if not they scored '0'.

Control variables

All analyses will be controlled for the variables 'marital status' (M=0.51, SD=0.50), 'educational level' (M=2.52, SD=0.64) and 'working hours' (M=33.39, SE=11.02).

Without controlling for marital status, educational level, and working hours any effects on leisure time or well-being may be spurious. For example, it is likely that a parent with a partner has more leisure time because of the fact that the partner can take care for the children as well. It is also possible that people with a partner have more well-being, simply because they have someone to share their life with. This variable does not hold any differences in partnership into account. The different answer categories 'married', 'separated', 'divorced', 'widowed', 'never married', 'in a civil partnership', 'have a dissolved civil partnership' were all merged into a dichotomous variable where '0' means not married and '1' means married or in a civil partnership. It is proven by many studies that there is a positive relationship between educational level and health (Sundquist & Johansson, 1997); (Regidor, Barrio, de la Fuente, Domingo, Rodriguez & Alonso, 1999); (Adler, Boyce, Chesney, Margaret, Cohen, Folkman, Kahn & Syme, 1994). People with a higher education usually have more financial stability than people with a lower education. It therefore could be possible that consequently they have more well-being as well. In order to control for this, the variable 'educational level' is created. Respondents were asked for their highest achieved diploma. The respondents were given thirteen different answer categories², which I merged into a variable with four different categories. A score of '1' means category two till four, a score of '2' means category five till seven, a score of '3'means category eight till ten and a score of '4' means category eleven till thirteen.

It is also of importance to control for the amount of working hours of parents. For example, it is perfectly possible that people have less leisure time and therefore less well-being because of the fact that they have a fulltime job. It is also still the case that men tend to work more than women (Blair & Lichter, 1991; Brines, 1994; Greenstein, 2000). It could therefore be possible that men have less leisure time than women. Respondents were asked how much they worked every week and these data were used in order to create the variable 'working hours' (M=33.39, SE=11.02).

Analytical strategy

After analyzing the descriptive statistics and conducting bivariate analyses, a series of regression analyses is conducted.

Model 1 tests the hypotheses on the negative effect of parenthood on well-being, the positive effect of the age of children on well-being and the negative effect of the number of children on well-being by means of a logistic regression analysis, which is represented by line 'a' in the model.

Model 1 also tests the hypothesis on the mediation effect of leisure time. If leisure time indeed mediates the effect of the presence of children, I expect line 'a' to be weaker when I add the concept of leisure time in the logistic regression analysis.

Model 1. The effect of parenthood, age of children, number of children on well-being, mediated by leisure time.

² A score of '1' means 'still at school', a score of '2' means 'no qualification', a score of '3' means 'other qualification', a score of '4' means 'apprenticeship', a score of '5' means 'CSE grade 2-5, Scot Grade 4-5', a score of '6' means 'commercial qualification', a score of '7' means 'GCE O levels', a score of '8' means 'GCE A levels', a score of '9' means 'Nursing qualification', a score of '10' means 'other higher qualification', a score of '12' means 'first degree' and a score of '13' means 'higher qualification'



In order to study this mediation, the analytical model is split in two sub-models. Model 2A tests the hypotheses on the negative effect of parenthood on leisure time, the positive effect of the age of children on leisure time and the negative effect of the number of children on leisure time, which is represented by line 'b' in both Model 1 and Model 2A. Model 2B tests the Hypothesis on the positive relation of leisure time on well-being, which is represented by line 'c' in both Model 1 and Model 2B.

Model 2A. Effect of the presence of children on leisure time by gender.



Model 2B. Effect of leisure time on well-being.



Because of my expectation to find differences in results for men and women, I include the direct effect of gender in both regressions, which is represented by arrows 'd1' and 'd2' in Model 1, Model 2A and

Model 2B. This addresses all hypotheses with regard to differences in gender. Interaction variables are created for the variables 'Parental status', 'young child', 'middle child', 'adolescent', 'number of children', 'leisure amount' and 'leisure satisfaction'. These interaction variables will be added one by one into the logistic regression model and one time all together.³

Results

Descriptive results

Table 1 presents the descriptive results from all the created variables. It is interesting to look at the variables which are not dichotomous, because of the fact that these means still have to be interpreted. The only two variables that are not dichotomous are the mediation variables 'leisure amount' and 'leisure satisfaction'. In total, all respondents score on average 4.85 on leisure amount with a standard deviation of 3.29, which means that the respondents have approximately 40-49 hours a month. Men score on average 5.56 with a standard deviation of 3.41, whereas women score on average 4.23 with a standard deviation of 3.05. 5.56 Is equal to approximately 50-59 hours of leisure time a month, whereas 4.23 is equal to approximately 30-39 hours of leisure time a month. In this sample, men have more leisure time than women.

With regard to the satisfaction with leisure time there are no big differences in means between men and women. In total respondents score on average 4.50 with a standard deviation of 1.39, men on average 4.51 with a standard deviation of 1.39 and women on average 4.50 with a standard deviation of 1.39. This means that respondents on average score in between the categories of 'not dissatisfied/not satisfied' and 'reasonably satisfied'.

	М	ale	Fen	nale	То	tal
	Μ	SD	Μ	SD	М	SD
Presence of children						
Parental status ^a	0.59	.49	0.57	0.50	0.58	0.49
Age of child						
Young 0-4 ^b	0.15	0.35	0.13	0.34	0.14	0.34
Middle 5-15 ^b	0.30	0.46	0.34	0.47	0.32	0.47
Adolescence 16-18 ^b	0.03	0.18	0.04	0.18	0.04	0.19
Number of children	0.70	0.98	0.71	0.96	0.71	0.97
Leisure						
Amount	5.56	3.41	4.23	3.05	4.85	3.29
Satisfaction	4.52	1.39	4.50	1.39	4.51	1.39

 Table 1. Descriptive statistics for key variables and control variables

³ The tables of the results of the interaction variables can be found in the appendix.

Well-being						
Physical	0.79	0.41	0.80	0.40	0.79	0.41
Psychological ^c	0.02	0.16	0.07	0.26	0.05	0.22
Controls						
Marital status ^d	0.52	0.50	0.50	0.50	0.51	0.50
Educational level	2.53	0.66	2.52	0.62	2.52	0.64
Working hours	37.71	9.76	29.62	10.67	33.39	11.02

^aReference category = children.

^bReference category = no children of displayed age category.

^cReference category = no symptoms of anxiety or depression.

^dReference category = not married.

Bivariate results

In order to be able to state anything about the descriptive statistics and in particular the differences in means, it is necessary to conduct bivariate analyses. At first hand it is obvious to conduct these analyses for the differences in gender, but it is also interesting to conduct these analyses for the differences between respondents with and respondents without children. Table 2 presents the results for the analyses regarding the differences in gender and Table 3 presents the results regarding the differences in gender and Table 3 presents the results regarding the differences in gender and Table 3 presents the results regarding the differences in gender.

For the dichotomous variables 'parental status', 'young child', 'middle child', 'adolescent', 'physical well-being', 'psychological well-being', and 'marital status' a Chi-square test is conducted. For the continuous variables 'number of children', 'amount of leisure time', 'satisfaction with leisure time', 'educational level' and 'working hours' a independent T-test is conducted.

The results in Table 2 suggest a significant difference in means between men and women for parental status, with $\chi^2 = 4.78$, p<.01. The results also suggest a significant difference in means of between men and women with a young child, with $\chi^2=2.78$, p<.05. There is a significant difference in means between men and women with a middle child as well, with $\chi^2=6.67$, p<.01. For men and women with an adolescent there is no significant difference in means. With regard to the number of children, there is no significant difference in means for the amount of leisure time, with t=15.23, p<.001. For the satisfaction with leisure time there is no significant difference in means between men and women for psychological well-being, there is only a significant difference in means between men and women for psychological well-being, with $\chi^2=69.73$, p<.001. For physical well-being, there is no significant difference. With regard to the control variables, there is only a significant difference for working hours, with t=29.48, p<.001.

The results in Table 3 suggest a significant difference in means between parents and respondents without children for the variable 'young child', with $\chi^2 = 1212.96$, p<.001. For 'middle child' there is a significant difference in means as well, with χ^2 =3601.50, p<.001. For 'adolescent' there is also a significant difference in means, with $\chi^2 = 143.51$, p<.001. With regard to the number of children, there is a significant difference in means between parents and respondents without children, with t=103.67, p<.001. Regarding the concept of leisure time, there is a significant difference in means for the amount of leisure time, with t=12.14, p<.001. For the satisfaction of leisure time there is a significant difference as well, with t=7.74, p<.001. Concerning the concept of well-being, there is only a significant difference in means for physical well-being, with $\chi^2 = 2.917$, p<.05. There is no significant difference for psychological well-being. Concerning the control variables, there is only a significant difference for working hours, with t=11.19, p<.001.

		T-test		Chi-	Square
	Mean	DF	Т	DF	χ^2
	difference				
Presence of children					
Parental status ^a	.029			1	4.78**
Age of child	0155			4	
Young 0-4 ^b	.0155			l	2.78*
Middle 5-15 [°]	0325			1	6.67**
Adolescence 16-18 ^b	006			1	1.34
Number of children	013	5531	.509		
Leisure					
Amount	1.33	5215.51	15.23***		
Satisfaction	.021	5531	.57		
Well-being					
Physical	0007			1	0.28
Psychological ^c	05			1	69.73***
Controls					
Educational level	.013	5334	.770		
Working hours	8.10	5518.63	29.48***		
^a Reference categor	ry = children.				

Table 2. Independent T test and Chi-Square test for mean differences by gender

^bReference category = no children of displayed age category.

^cReference category = no symptoms of anxiety or depression.

*P<.05. ** P<.01. ***P<.001.

Table 3. Independent T test and Chi-Square test for mean differences by parental status.

	T-test		Chi-Se	quare
Mean	DF	Т	DF	χ^2

	difference				
Presence of					
children					
Age of child	22.55				
Young 0-4"	3266			l	1212.96***
Middle 5-15"	/631			1	3601.5***
Adolescence				1	143.51***
10-18					
Number of	-1.67	2329	103.67***		
children					
Leisure					
Amount	1.06	5286	12.14***		
Satisfaction	0.29	5531	7.74***		
Well-being					
Physical	0188			1	2.917*
Psychological ^b	.000			1	0.45
Controls					
Educational	0.01	5531	0.373		
level					
Working hours	3.38	4691.66	11.19***		

^aReference category = no children of displayed age category.

^bReference category = no symptoms of anxiety or depression.

*P<.05. ** P<.01. ***P<.001.

As discussed in the data section, it is of importance to control for multicollinearity for the variables 'amount of leisure time', and 'satisfaction with the amount of leisure time. Conducting a correlation shows that there is no reason to believe that multicollinearity occurs, with r (5533)=.129, p<.001.

Multivariate results

The direct effect of the presence of children on physical and psychological well-being.

Table 4 shows the results for Model 1 and Model 2b for physical well-being, split by gender. In order to examine the results of the effect of the presence of children on physical well-being I now merely focus on Model 1. For women, there is no significant effect of the presence of children on physical well-being before and after adding the variables 'amount of leisure time' and 'satisfaction of leisure time'. Table 4 shows that before adding the concept of leisure time for men there is a significant negative effect of parental status on physical well-being, with p<.001, B=-.895, SE=.285. However, this negative effect suggests that people without children report lower physical well-being⁴, whereas the exact opposite was hypothesized. The interaction effect of parental status and gender on physical well-being is significant as well, which means that the founded differences in effects between men and women on physical well-being are significant. Next to the significant result for the effect of parental

⁴ Remember that the reference category of Parental status is 'having children'.

status, there is also a significant negative effect of 'middle child' on physical well-being for men before adding the concept of leisure time, with p<.05, B=-.532, SE=.289. However, the interaction effect of middle child and gender on physical well-being is not significant, which means that it cannot be said that the found differences between men and women are truly significant.

Table 5 shows the results for Model 1 and Model 2b for psychological well-being, split by gender. For women, there is no significant effect of the presence of children on psychological well-being. For men, there is no significant effect of the presence of children on psychological well-being either.

The mediation of leisure time

The finding that only the effect of parental status on psychological well-being for men is significant is rather disappointing, considering that if leisure time does mediate the effect of the presence of children on physical and psychological well-being, a significant direct effect is a necessary precondition. For now, it is only possible to see whether the effect of parental status and middle child on physical well-being for men will be weakened if 'amount of leisure time' and 'satisfaction with leisure time' are added in the logistic regression analysis. Model M1 in table 4 shows that when 'amount of leisure time' and 'satisfaction with the amount of leisure time' are added to the model, it is still the case that for men parental status is significantly negatively related with physical well-being with p<.001, B=.964, SE=.288. The negative effect of middle child on physical well-being is, after adding the concept of leisure time, still significant with p<.05, B=-.546, SE=.292. These results do not suggest a mediation of leisure time of any kind.

It might very well be true that leisure time does not mediate the effects of the presence of children, but this does not mean that it is not interesting to look at the effects of the independent variables on leisure time. It could still be possible that leisure time is significantly lower when you are a parent with many young children than with fewer or older children or with no children at all. It is also still interesting to look at the effects of leisure time on physical and psychological well-being.

Amount of leisure time

Regarding the amount of leisure time it is first hypothesized that becoming a parent decreases the amount of leisure time for both men and women, but especially for women. Second, it has been hypothesized that when children become older, parents, again especially women, will have more leisure time. Third, it has been hypothesized that when parents have more children they will have less leisure time. Table 6 contains the results of Model 2A, which entails the OLS regression analysis of the effects of the presence of children on the amount of leisure time.

Model 2A in Table 6 shows that for women, parental status is significantly related with the amount of leisure time, with p<.01, B=.887 and SE=.303. The positive regression coefficient indicates a positive relationship between parental status and physical well-being, which means that when a woman

			Wom	ā	E.	hysical wel	ll-being		Men			
			Indel	2B	Modé	ei 1			Model	8	Mode	1
	m	SE	m	SE	m	SE	m	SE	m	SE	м	SE
Presence of children Parental status ⁼	-334	.257			<u>88</u> -	263	-895***	285			b###196-	.288
Age of child Young 0-4°	-125	233			800	.240	169	241			-079	244
Middle 5-15° Adolescent 16-18°	278	268 235			-282 012	242 242	-532* .140	289			546* .167	292
Number of children	050	101.			007	.103	103	III.			085	.112
Leis tore time												
Amount Satisfaction ^c			.025 .332***	.016 .034	.028* 338**#	.016 .034			.047** .212***۹	.015 285	.054*** .224***1	.015 .036
Controls												
Marital status ^d	033	5 0.	070.	<u> 260</u>	.002	<i>L</i> 60'	071	.107	.108	.100	.014	.109
Educational level	216**	220.	.235***	.074	.227***	.074	.152*	.072	.138*	.073	.148*	.073
Working hours	007	<u> 900</u> .	-005	<u>900</u>	003	<u> 900</u>	.002	500.	500.	<u>2005</u>	<u>500.</u>	<u>900</u> .
"Reference category "	= children.	and disadare	of see outpace	1								

Table 4. Results of the binary logistic regression regarding the effects of presence of children and leisure time on physical well-being N=5.533

Reference category = no cnutten of ots played age category. Reference category = no symptoms of anxiety or depression.

^dReference category = not married. ^qSignificant interaction effect. *P<.05. **P<.01. ***P<.001.

					Paye	hological v	rell-being					
			Worr	<u>a</u>	•	1	1		Men			
			Model	1 2B	Mode	11			Mode	el 28	Mod	11
	m	SE	в	SE	щ	SE	m	SE	м	SE	m	SE
Presence of children												
Parental status"	.1219	377			12.24	380	165.	.767			NO9.	Г .С.
Age of child						5						į
Y oung 0-4" Middle 5-15"	2067	म् स			26T.	4 8 8	497. 1860	14 287			-106 106	140. 787.
Adolescent 16-18°	- 039	381			- <mark>09</mark> -	384	804	1.024			810	1.024
Number of children	026	.153			067	ъŢ.	340	259			.334	259
Leistore time												
Amount Satisfaction ⁵			012 281***	024 050	012 280***	024			-118	038 091	.121	660 160
Controls												
Marital status ^e	118	.145	135	.144	141	.147	-362	287	-355	263	-380	288
Educational level	-151	111.	158		-159	.112	102.	60 2 .	.200	210	.193	209
Working hours	.002	.007	002	700.	-001	200.	018	.012	020	.012	021	012
"Reference category =	= children.	1.10	-									

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^eReference category = no children of displayed age category. ^eReference category = no symptoms of anxiety or depression. ^dReference category = not married. [%]Significant interaction effect. *P<.05. **P<.01. ***P<.001.</p>

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Table 6. Effects of th	e Presence of Child	dren on Leisure	Amount and Leis	sure satisfaction	, split by Gender. N	t=5,533.		
		Amount of lei	is ure time			Satisfacti	ion with leisure tim	a
Model 2A								
	Womer	a	Mer	e	Wom	ų	Me	
	р	SE	р	SE	д	SE	р	SE
Presence of children								
Parental status"	.887**	303	*00	364	-054	.141	.00	<u>51.</u>
Age of children								
Young 0.4 ^b	524*	.280	647*	.326	374**	.130	316*	134
Middle 5-15 ^b	397	315	-075	.370	-07	.147	600.	152
Adolescence 16- 18 ⁵	011.	.284	-096	368	-124	.132	068	/061
Number of children	.200*	.122	.031	.149	135*	.057	680'-	190
Controls								
Marital status ^c	797***	.112	***867	.144	-054	.052	200***	650
Educational level	.166***	.022	.113***	.025	014	010.	600'-	010
Working hours	.028***	<u>200</u> .	.020**	.007	013***	.003	018***	.003
"R eference category = "Reference category = "Reference category =	children. no children of dis not married.	played age cate;	gory.					

"R eference category = not marned. *Pc.05. ** Pc.01. ***Pc.001.

becomes a parent, she actually has less leisure time⁵. Model 2A in Table 6 shows that for men, parental status is also significantly positively related with the amount of leisure time, with p<.05, B=.800, SE=.364, which again is the opposite of what was hypothesized.

Model 2A in Table 6 also shows that for women, there is a negative effect of having young children on the amount of leisure time, with p<.05, B=-.524, SE=.280. There is also a significant positive effect of the number of children on the amount of leisure time for women, with p<.05, B=.200, SE=.122. This implies that women with more children tend to have more leisure time, which is the opposite of what was hypothesized. With regard to men, there is only a significant negative effect for having young children, with p<.05, B=-.647, SE=.130. For men, there is no significant effect of the number of children on the amount of leisure time.

Now that the results regarding the effects of parental status, age of children and number of children on the amount of leisure time are clear, it is time to look at the effects of the amount of leisure time on well-being. It is hypothesized that the amount of leisure time is positively related with both physical and psychological well-being, i.e. that more leisure time means more physical and psychological well-being.

Model 2B in table 4 gives evidence for the finding that there is only a significant positive effect of the amount of leisure time on physical well-being for men, with p<.01, B=.047, SE=.015. This implies that when they have more leisure time, they will have more physical well-being as well. This also implies that for women more leisure time does not necessarily result in more physical well-being. Model M2b in table 2 shows that for men there is a significant positive relation between the amount of leisure time and physical well-being as well.

Model 2B in table 5 entails the effects of the amount of leisure time on psychological well-being for both men and women. Unfortunately, there is not a single significant relation between any of the variables.

Satisfaction with the amount of leisure time

With regard to the satisfaction with leisure time, the same hypotheses were drafted as for the variable amount of leisure time. I.e. becoming a parent will lead to less satisfaction, older children will lead to more satisfaction and more children will lead to less satisfaction.

Model 2A in Table 6 includes the significant negative effect of having a young child on the satisfaction of leisure time for women, with p<.01, B=-.374, SE.130. This means that when women

⁵ Remember that the reference category of Parental status is 'having children'.

have a young child, they will report lower leisure satisfaction. The Model also contains this significant negative effect of having a young child for men, with p<.05, B=-.316, SE=.134.

Concerning the number of children, Model 2A in Table 6 contains a significant negative effect of the number of children on leisure satisfaction for women, with p<.05, B=-.135 and SE=.057. Model M2A does not contain a significant relation between the number of children and leisure satisfaction for men.

Concerning leisure satisfaction it is also interesting to look at the effects on physical and psychological well-being. With regard to well-being, the same hypotheses are drafted for leisure satisfaction as for the amount of leisure time.

Model 2B in table 4 gives evidence for the finding that there is a significant positive effect of leisure satisfaction and physical well-being for women, with p<.001, B=.332, SE=.034. For men, there is a significant positive effect as well, with p<.001, B=.212, SE=..035. This implies that both men and women experience higher well-being when they report more satisfaction with the amount of leisure time.

Model 2B in table 5 entails a significant negative relationship between leisure satisfaction and psychological well-being for women, with p<.001, B=-.281 SE=.050. This means that when women report higher leisure satisfaction they have less chance to suffer from anxiety and depression. For men, there is no significant relation between leisure satisfaction and psychological well-being. However, the interaction effect for leisure satisfaction and gender is not significant, which means that I cannot argue that the differences between the effects of leisure satisfaction on psychological well-being are truly significant.

Now that all results have been given, it is possible to draft conceptual Models with the actual results inserted. Model 3 gives the conceptual Models with the significant positive and negative effects of presence of children on leisure time and well-being, and Model 4 gives these results for men.

Model 3. Conceptual Model of the effects of presence of children on leisure time and well-being for women.





Model 4. Conceptual Model of the effects of presence of children on leisure time and well-being for men.

Conclusion

This research is conducted in order to examine the possible mediation effects of the concept of leisure time regarding the effects of the presence of children on physical and psychological well-being of the parents. Various hypotheses were drafted in order to address these effects. First of all, it was hypothesized that the effect of actual parenthood on physical and psychological well-being initially is negative, but eventually will be mediated by leisure time. The mechanism for this mediation is that the presence of children leads to a lower amount of leisure time and less satisfaction with leisure time. This decrease in leisure time eventually leads to less well-being. It was expected that these effects are stronger for women, because of the fact that they experience less pure leisure time than men because of the primary task to take care of the children (Becker, 1985). Second, it was hypothesized that the age of children is positively related with well-being, and mediated by leisure time. It is therefore that this effect will be stronger for women as well, because they are the primary caretakers. Third, it was hypothesized that the number of children is negatively related to well-being as well, because more children means more care. It was expected that this effect was stronger for women than for men as well.

After carrying out the analyses it can be concluded that the first hypothesis cannot be confirmed. It is evident that there is a relation between being a parent and physical well-being, but it is not the relation that was initially expected. In contrast with the hypothesis, for men there is a positive relation between parenthood and physical well-being, which means that fathers report higher physical well-being than childless men. Considering the finding that this effect remains after adding the concept of leisure time into the analyses and the finding that there is no effect of being a parent on psychological well-being in the first place, there is no mediation of leisure time of any kind. Also the hypothesis that the effect for women is stronger cannot be confirmed, because of the fact that for women there is no effect in the first place.

There is no mediation effect of leisure time regarding the age of children either. For women, there is no effect of any age group of the children on physical and psychological well being and for men there is only the negative effect of having a middle child on physical well-being which still remains after adding the concept of leisure time. It is nevertheless interesting that it is only the middle child for men that has a negative relation, which means that a father with a middle child will report lower physical well-being than a men without a middle child. There were no significant effects on psychological wellbeing. Also the hypothesis that the effect for women is stronger cannot be confirmed, because of the lack of the effect for women in the first place.

The third hypothesis regarding the number of children cannot be confirmed either. For both men and women and for both physical and psychological well-being there are no effects of the number of children, so there is also nothing to be mediated by the concept of leisure time.

Regardless of the fact that none of the mediation hypotheses can be confirmed, it is still of importance to look at the effects on and the effects of the amount and satisfaction with leisure time. The mediation hypotheses were based on hypotheses drafted regarding the effects on and effects of the concept of leisure time. Hence, it is the case that there is a significant effect of parental status on the amount of leisure time for both men and women, which means that both men and women tend to have more leisure time when they do not have children. Also, there is a negative effect of having young children for both men and women on the amount of leisure time, which means that when parents have young children they tend to have less leisure time than parents without young children. For women, there is also positive effect of the number of children on the amount of leisure time, which means that they will report a higher amount of leisure time, there is no effect of parental status, but the effects of having young children are similar to the amount of leisure time. However, the effect of the number of children on leisure statisfaction is negative for women, which means that more children does mean less leisure satisfaction.

Concerning the hypotheses for the effects of leisure time on well-being, especially the hypotheses for women can partially be confirmed. Both the amount of leisure time and the satisfaction with leisure time are positively related with physical well-being, which means that more leisure time and more satisfaction with leisure time leads to more physical well-being. However, there is no effect of leisure time on psychological well-being for women. For men, the hypotheses for the amount of leisure time cannot be confirmed, but the hypotheses for the satisfaction with leisure time can be confirmed. Satisfaction with leisure time leads for men to more physical well-being and a lower chance of suffering from anxiety or depression, i.e. psychological well-being.

Discussion

Both costs and benefits of the presence of children for parents were explained in the theory of this article. It became clear that it is rather common for researchers to assume a decrease in leisure time once people have children. This study does find evidence for both men and women for a decrease in leisure when they have children, but does not find a mediation effect for leisure time on the effects of parental status on well-being. It therefore seems that the decrease of leisure time is not seen as problematic by the parents and therefore it might not be an actual cost.

In any case, the fact that the mediation hypotheses cannot be confirmed might also be due to the use of cross-sectional instead of longitudinal data. Longitudinal data are deemed to be better suitable for this kind of research, because it is then possible to examine the same respondents over a certain period. Sticking with the same respondents facilitates the possibility to analyze for example what parenthood means for leisure time and well-being of the specific respondent before and after the transition to parenthood. Another methodological solution might be the use of a structural equation model instead of the executed regression analyses. The advantage of the structural equation is that it is better suitable to measure a conceptual model. Applied to this research, it could analyze all different Models and steps by means of a set of regression analyses.

Another factor that might influence the results is that the variable 'psychological well-being' is a dichotomous variable where respondents were merely asked whether they ever suffered from symptoms of anxiety or depression. In this way, psychological well-being is reduced to symptoms of anxiety or depression. Ryff & Keyes (1995) speak of six dimensions of psychological well-being; namely 'self-acceptance', 'environmental mastery', 'positive relations', 'purpose in life', 'personal growth' and 'autonomy'. It could be interesting for future research to use more complete data in order to specify the concept of psychological well-being.

On the other hand, it could also be the case that leisure time simply does not mediate any effects of the presence of children on the concepts of both physical and psychological well-being. It could be that it is merely the case that with the transition to parenthood parents do experience less leisure time, but it is possible that this counts for the transition only. It could be that parents pick up their initial amount of leisure time rather quickly, and therefore do not experience differences in their well-being due to changes in leisure time. In any case, it is certain that it is not the quantity of leisure time that mediates the effect of the presence of children on well-being. Future research might have to focus on the quality

of leisure time in order to find a mediation effect of leisure time. This research does have a variable which represents the quality of leisure time, namely the 'satisfaction of leisure time'. However, this variable could be highly biased due to the fact that the standards for 'satisfaction' with leisure time differ for every respondent.

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Appendix

Table 7. Interaction v	/ariables wit	h binary log	gistic regressi	on for phys	sical well-beii	ng (total). hysical wei	ll-being							
Presence of Children	œ	SE	щ	SE	щ	SE	рщ	SE	щ	SE	щ	SE	æ	SE
Parental status.	-551**	.198	554**	.198	551**	.198	547**	.199	549**	.199	.492**	204	628**	.219
Age of child Young 0.4 ^b Middle 5-15 ^b Adolescent 16-18 ^b	030 41* .082	.171 .200 .182	067 411* .081	.196 .200 .182	071 393 .081	.197 .209 .182	072 394 .015	.197 .209 .240	097 426 .015	215 236 240	078 384 .012	216 238 240	147 497* .014	219 248 241
Number of children	038	.076	038	9/0.	037	9/0.	037	.076	018	.102	014	.102	017	.102
Leis ure time														
Amount Satisfaction.	.043***	.011 .025	.042***	.011 .025	.043***	.011 .025	.043***	.011 .025	.043***	.011 .025	.029* .283***	.016 .025	.025 .320***	.016 .032
Interaction variables Parent*gender Young*gender Middle*gender Number*gender Amount*gender Satisfaction*gender Satisfaction*gender	190*	160.	188* .074	.091 .196	190* .086 041	.091 .199 .129	199* .087 .040 .151		199* .141 .029 .152 .043	.093 .273 .366 .149	324* .096 .055 .160 049	.141 276 367 149 021	-021 -021 -154 -036 -033	220 367 022 022 044
Controls	000	Ę		ç	ş	ç		5	ç	ç		5		5
Martal staus. Educational level Working hours	.179** 100.	.052 .053 .003	410. 180** 100.	.072 .052 .003	120. 179** 100.	.072 .052 .003	020. **971. 100.	.072 .052 .003	120. 179** 100.	.052 .052 .003	210. .181*** .001	.052 003 003	.181*** .181*** .001	.072 .052 .003
Reference category = "Reference category =	= children. = no children	of displaye	ed age catego	λ.										

Reterence category = no symptoms of anxiety or depression. Reference category = not married. *P<.05. **P<.01. ***P<.001. 29

Table 8. Interaction variables with binary logistic regression for psychological well-being (total).

					Psvch	ological W	Vell-being							
Presence of children	м	SE	м	SE	m m	E	м	SE	м	SE	м	SE	м	SE
Parental status"	497	341	520	34	.433	톬	.427	344	.438	퇉	3445	347	.492	354
Age of child Young 0.4 ^b Middle 5-15 ^b Adolescent 16-18 ^b	-010 209 -248	26 2 29 24 20	431 229 -229	354 354 356	.291 .416 -213	314 357 356	.293 .418 .084	314 356 383	374 521 083	328 377 383	.376 .526 084	328 379 88	985 266 280-	329 384 385
Number of children	<u> 500</u> -	.132	.002	.132	.011	.133	110.	.133	049	153	049	153	048	.153
Leis ure time Arnount Satis faction ^e	-015 -246***	020.044	-012 243***	000	009 241 ***	.020	- 240***	020.	009 241 ***	020	011 241***	044	-009	.024
Inter action variables Parent*gender Young*gender Middle*gender Number*gender Arnount*gender Satis faction*gender Satis faction*gender	-945***	191.	-972***	.433	101*** 15** 931**	.192 .269 .269	974*# -1.15** 932** 776	.195 .439 1.09	-973*** -1.48* -1.37* 776	261 25 269 20 200 20	-1.005** -1.50* 774 774 .006	503 503 503 503 503 503 503 503 503 503	-1.23** -1.63* -1.55* 769 001 .001	.456 .647 .044 .091
<i>Controls</i> Marital status ⁴	-254	131	245	131	-207	.130	-205	.130	-207	131	208	131	-207	131
Educational level	043	<i>L</i> 60.	053	760.	065	<i>L</i> 60.	064	760.	-064	<i>L</i> 60.	064	<i>L</i> 60 [.]	-063	<i>L</i> 60 [.]
Working hours	017**	900.	013*	900.	-007	900.	-007	900	-007	900	007	900	-007	900

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